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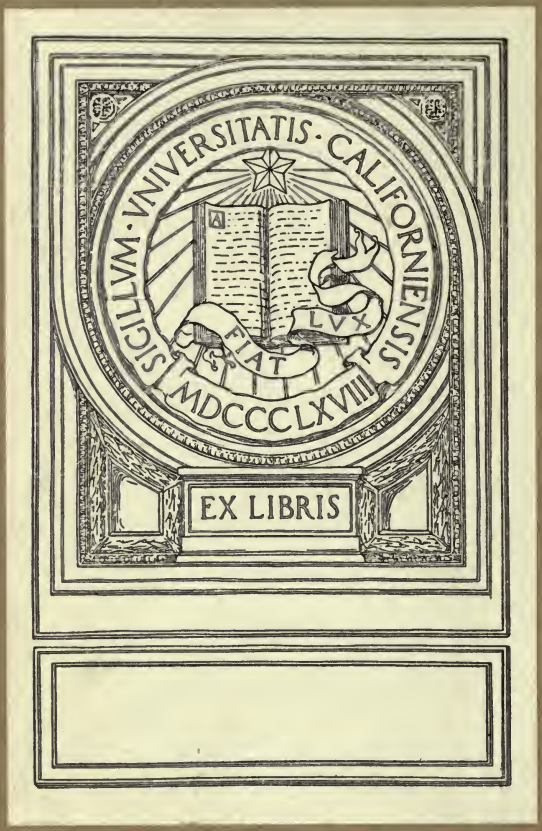
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Narrative of the Expedition despatched to Musahdu

BY THE LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT

UNDER BENJAMIN J. K. ANDERSON, SR., ESQUIRE IN 1874.

EDITED BY FREDERICK STARR

OF

CHICAGO UNIVERSITY

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INTRODUCTION

"The interior of Liberia is still the least known part of Africa." Liberians themselves have contributed little to our knowledge of their hinterland. In 1858, President Benson sent two Liberians, Seymour and Ash, into the interior and a description of their journey appeared in England in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society in 1860. In 1868, Benjamin J. K. Anderson, a Liberian, was supplied with funds by American friends, chiefly Henry M. Schieffelin, for making a journey toward the Liberian frontier. The report of his expedition was printed in book form in New York in 1870, under the title *Narrative of a journey to Musahdu, the Capital of the Western Mandingoes*. This book has now become rare and it was reprinted, in whole or part, in W. H. Heard's *The Bright Side of African Life*, which appeared at Philadelphia in 1898. In 1874, Mr. Anderson was authorized by the Liberian government to make a second expedition into the same region and on his return made a report to the authorities. This report should have been promptly printed by the Liberian government, for several reasons. The expedition was sent out by the government; it was a contribution to knowledge of Liberia made by a Liberian; it had possible political bearings. It was not, however, printed at all until several years later and then privately, in instalments, in *The Observer*, a newspaper printed at Monrovia. This paper had but a limited circulation and is today inaccessible to students. The report of Anderson's journey of 1874 is as good as unpublished. Various writers, especially French writers, have claimed that Anderson's works are unreliable and have even raised the question whether he ever went to Musahdu. Now that Liberia's hinterland is really being penetrated and examined, it should be an easy matter to test his veracity. It seems to be to the interest of geographical science to have Anderson's report available. Whatever the merits or demerits of his work, they can only be known if the document itself is accessible. If Anderson's journeys are substantiated and his reports verified, he deserves great credit as having been practically the only Liberian, who has made a direct contribution to geographical literature.

I have believed it worth while to place this report before the public. The present edition of 500 copies has been printed by the generous aid of Dr. O. L. Schmidt of Chicago, whose interest in history and science is known and appreciated by a large circle of friends.

FREDERICK STARR

Monrovia, October 15. 1912.

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NARRATIVE OF THE EXPEDITION DESPATCHED TO MUSAHDU, BY THE LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT IN 1874 UNDER BENJAMIN ANDERSON, ESQR.

The expedition consisted at first, of Peter P. Capehart, Assistant Commissioner and six carriers namely: Jos. Lawrence, W. N. Yates, Robert Johnson, Joshua Simms, Henry Harrison, and Jno. Thomas.

Having been furnished by the Government with the necessary means, I left Monrovia; Wednesday, May 6th. A. D. 1871, at 7½ o'clock a. m. and proceeding up the St. Paul's River touched at Virginia and took in Assistant Commissioner Capehart. We reached Mr. Washington's wharf at 7½ o'clock p. m. and were till 8½ o'clock unloading, owing to a heavy storm of rain and wind, the banks of the wharf being steep and slippery. The next day we proceeded to Careysburg and arranged to have the goods transferred thither, Mr. Washington having very kindly housed our effects until we could make such arrangement, free of charge. Having succeeded in this, our next effort was to prepare for our journey in the interior, and having arranged the goods, etc. in convenient parcels for conveyance, it turned out that our baggage carriers were not sufficient by eight or nine men. Considerable time was spent in procuring hands, as very few persons could be found who were willing to venture even so far as the Pessey country on account of the wars and it was solely owing to the indefatigable efforts of Mr. James B Dennis of Careysburg who did all he could to induce people to go with us that we were able to get off as soon as we did. Every body dreading both the wars and the weather.

On Monday 18th of May, we started from Careysburg; the road was all mud, creeks and marshes; one of the carriers, Johnson, fell into a creek and made an ugly cut under his left eye, besides wetting his kingjar of goods. We spent two days at a small native village called Gaystown in drying our goods and re-arranging our travelling-affairs. Some of our people being unused to carrying kingjars, the first two or three days went hard and sore with them, and we had to make short and easy journeys from village to village until they could get fairly

broke to such labor. Mr. James B. Dennis kindly accompanied the expedition rendering every assistance he could. Having been piloted through the bogs and fens and squalid hovels of our idolatrous Queahs whose fondness for devil plays and neglect of their farms had caused much distress and starvation among them, we had arrived at the very edge, where clearing and an opening of the country ceases and the big "bush" begins.

Acknowledging our obligations to Mr. Dennis, I took charge of the expedition and commenced the march from Simpson's town to the block house at about 1 o'clock p. m., Saturday 23rd of May, and by hard walking and half running brought up the block house between 6—7 o'clock p. m. It is a two story structure, octagon in shape, built of squared logs ten feet in length; the bottom story is twelve [12] feet high, and the upper six feet; pierced for 32 port holes below and 16 upstairs.

On May, Monday 25th having completed a raft which we were obliged to construct in order to cross the Duqueah River—we started taking a direction E. N. E; the road is a rough and pebbly path over rolling land, interrupted by swamps and numerous creeks. About 2 o'clock we crossed a fine stream overshaded with lofty trees and a fine situation for a block house The rain beat us along the road without intermission; we came to a halt about 4½, o'clock p. m. having passed through a long strip of dense woods. The place we stopped at was a creek at the edge of which was a soft light colored rock plentifully charged with a whitish silvery substance; the rock was laminated and mixed with seams of clay. Our people constructed four booths to shelter us from the weather. It rained nearly all night.

May, Tuesday 26th. Left this encampment at 7½ o'clock a. m. amidst rain, and soon, as we expected, we were wading in creeks up to our armpits, the rains having set in heavily and steadily and to add to our watery difficulties we came upon creeks not fordable at all, but crossed on logs waist deep under water and of uncertain footing to carriers burdened with heavy loads upon their heads— these passed we came to a creek called "Krah" which the rains had swollen to the size of a small river, so we encamped for the night and found in our tents a refuge from disappointment and the flooding rains. Having slept comfortably through the night, we awoke next morning (May, Wednesday 27th.) to belabor the tall trees standing on both sides of the river, with

our hatchets, and succeeded in securing a dry and sure footing across this creek after a whole day's hard work. Our rice food in the mean time having given out, we had to subsist on palm cabbage and the tender buds of rattan, vegetable substances that the elephants had made rather scarce in that neighborhood, it being the region where these enormous quadrupeds usually roam and feed.

At night it poured from the heavens and tested the capabilities of our tents to resist the weather, but these cloth shelters proved equal to the occasion. Our beds being elevated two feet from the ground, and our kingjars placed under our beds on poles laid lengthwise, were effectually protected from the weather. But for tents, both men and goods would have been drenched. Not over two hundred yards from our tents, our people in walking around discovered where several elephants had been feeding and perhaps eyeing our fires and tents.

Thursday, May 28th. The creek had fallen 8 feet; but this would not have permitted us to ford it, for it was still from 10 to 12 feet deep and we did well to throw the large trees across it the day before. The rains had rendered the whole country a quagmire interrupted by long strips of dense woods. Such weather is entirely unfit for travelling. To a dense, damp and dreary wilderness succeeds the boggy quagmire and to the swampy quagmire succeed creeks now swollen to small rivers; and the whole weary day is spent in walking, wading and swimming, pelted all along as we go by an intensely cold and pitilies rain. We crossed three very large creeks, two of which had considerable falls; in the third we lost a gun but succeeded in recovering it—one of my people diving for it. Arrived at Pockpar's town at about 4½ o'clock p. m.

May, Friday 29th. At Pockpar's town. This is a Pessey town situated on the South-Eastern edge of the Pessy country on a tributary of the Junk river. The king was absent when we arrived, but he came to his town on Saturday. Some of my people become greatly dissatisfied because I do not ration them with rice, fowls and goats.

June, Monday 1st. We had an interview with the king and read the law to him, making him to understand it in his own language, section by section. We then stated to him in familiar conversation the purpose of the government with reference to opening and keeping open, the road; and stopping the wars. The King in his turn made us acquainted with the causes of the present troubles and disturbances in

the country; the details of which though it was taken down at the time, it would be useless to give in this report. We made the king a suitable present, and on Saturday June 6th. at 8 o'clock a. m. we left this town taking a direction E and N E, and reached Kypah's at 2½ o'clock p. m. This is a small village of sixty or seventy thatch and clay houses with nothing very important either in character of the people or in the features of the country. Kypah is an old chief of very pacific disposition and spends much of his time in reconciling differences between his neighbors. While there he got us to adjust a difficulty between himself and another chief named Dogbar, living N. West from him. Kypa accused Dogbar, of kidnapping his daughter; both parties having appeared before us and made their statement, Dogbar at once simplified the matter by simply demanding the money he had paid on the girl, which enabled us to give judgment quickly and equitably by remanding the girl to her father and ordering the money to be returned to Dogbar.

On Friday, 12th of June, we went from Kypa's town to Dogbar's. Dogbar informed us that Pockpar and Kypa had acted without consulting the other heads of the country; namely, Seaway, Dogbar Fuella and Darpella. He said that Pockpar and Kypa had done the same when W. S. Anderson had visited them; that was the reason we were not on the great Barline road, but were carried in roundabout paths so that some persons might get money out of us. He proposes to call the Kings living on Barline road near him, that they might consult about the road.

Saturday 13th of June. News came to town that Waugi, a powerful chief living east of Kypa's town had sent war upon Pockpar, burnt his town, captured his people and killed the King himself, and that they would soon attack Dogbar's town, where we were then: we made preparation at once to defend the place and kept guard regularly. The whole country was in a state of alarm. The people of Dogbar were so cowardly that they were afraid to stay and defend their own town, but as soon as night came on would go out to conceal themselves in the huts of old farms leaving their town to be defended by us. One evening when they were about to exercise this cowardly precaution, our men stacked their arms across the path leading to the gate itself. The poltroons thus confined found various excuses and expedients to sneak out of the town.

My own people soon commenced to show signs of uneasiness and apprehension and openly expressed a wish to return home, declaring that it was impossible to go through a country so filled with war. I tried to allay their fears as well as I could. One night just before they were ordered on guard they came in a body to persuade me to return; they had before been holding frequent conferences among themselves. They declared their fears to me, to proceed any further on account of the wars, and they wished to get me to agree with them to return. I told them I was determined not to return unless there were stronger reasons than those they alleged. I further told them that in order to get me to return home they would have to write and sign a paper stating that they of their own will refused to proceed any further and that they took the government property as they were responsible for its conveyance and protection and had compelled me to return home with it; that by giving me such a paper they might perhaps force me to return. They afterward grew ashamed and returned to their duty.

Dogbar requested that we would stay with him a little while, as the war was reported to be raging all around the country; we consented. He also instructed us to send for Darpella who was in friendship with Waugi in order that he might be sent to Waugi's to propose a conference of all the chiefs, together with the Commissioners, that all difficulties might be talked over and settled. Darpella was sent for, came and readily accepted—went to Waugi's and informed him of what we proposed and prepared the way for our visiting that Chief without causing any fears on his part.

June Thursday 18th. Left Dogbar's and came again to Kypa's where we had called all the kings of the country; here we made an attempt to settle all differences and to combine them together; the Chiefs consisted of Kypa, Dogbar, Dogfella, Seefray, and Dampella. They agreed to open and clean the road and to have no more feuds among themselves. We showed the folly of allowing Golah people to come into their Country, plunder and devastate every thing and then return to their own home loaded with spoils—they all condemned it and declared they would not encourage such a thing again.

On Friday 19th of June we started from Kypa's and went to Waugi's. After four hours walk over a tremendous hill mean Eastward direction we came to Waugi's town situated on a considerable elevation. The town was filled with armed men, a mixed crowd of Golahs, Veys, Pes-

seys and Haumths armed to the teeth. The king himself was not seen as he was said to be in consultation with the chiefs of the war band. He afterwards came forth and received us. The war play afterward began, all of them dancing around in a circle. Zodoponga, Golah chief and one of Waugi's allies in this war called myself, Capehart and one of the men in the ring and commenced a series of impertinent questions which in the end made me angry. Such as "where did you all come from? Who sent you? To what chiefs were you sent?" To which he received answers equally insolent and very unsatisfactory. Waugi immediately interfered and put a stop to proceedings that were fast engendering a row.

But the Golah and Vey people recognized in us their friends and acquaintances, and gave themselves very little trouble about whoever might be displeased with us. They jocularfly told us how they had followed us, dogged and watched our movements; how we had kept them from taking Pockpar's town before they did—spoke with eontempt of the Pessey people; and wanted to know why we had not passed through their Country as they knew better how to treat Americans than any other tribes. When they conversed with each other they would do so in English. The smallest piece of leaf tobacco or pinch of salt was recieved with thankfulness. Whenever they went out foraging they would come and get our people to carry along with them that we might get our share. Waugi had purchased this war from Fahquaqua for the special purpose of destroying Pockpar's town.

On Sunday 21st of June we had interview with king Waugi; he gave us a sheep for our breakfast. We read and explained to him the act of the Legislature and thoroughly informed him of the object of our mission to his country, to all of which he readily agreed. He then explained the causes of the present war and brought witnesses to prove that Pockpar had stopped the path and had made his people conceal themselves in the bush and had shot several of his (Waugi's) people and taken his cattle: this Pockpar had done several times; and that he, Waugi, could not send a bullock or a boy but what Pockpar was sure to stop them, shooting the boys and taking the bullocks. Even the war which he, Waugi, now had, Pockpar had first purchased it from Fahquaqua to fight the Gibbee people—and nearly all the Golahs got killed by the Gibbee people. So after they were whipped, they went to Pockpar for compensation for their losses but he failed to give them any satisfaction,

and the Golahs considered the war as being still in Pockpar's country at the beck and call of any one who chose to purchase their services.

He, Waugi, had therefore taken advantage of this state of things and had purchased them to make war against the very people they came to fight. The complete overthrow of Pockpar was the result. The king further informed us that since this end was accomplished he would send the war home; and that the country should be no further disturbed by it.

We tried to induce the king to compose all differences between himself and the surrounding chiefs; and a council was at that time being held in the town for that purpose as we had accordingly arranged it through Darpella.

Being wearied with the squabbles and petty broils of the Pessey people, I was determined to tarry no longer in this section of the country; but to push on to Barline. The king engaged to furnish me with the same guides that had conducted W. S. Anderson to that country in 1871; there were however the usual delays that always attend any arrangement made with our country people.

Provisions were scarce, but there was no day that we did not obtain something to eat, and we could not expect regular supplies of food in a country desolated and disorganized by war. My people, who before, at Dogbar's, where they were supplied with abundance of food—had discovered a childish disposition to return home, now grew outrageous in their clamors. It was simply amusing to see men showing fears about wars that had not even dared threaten, much less attack them. It will now be shown, that this very war respecting which there was so much dread, was chiefly instrumental in carrying out the intentions of the Government.

Between the hours of nine and eleven o'clock, Assistant Commissioner Capehart came to me and said he was going home: this announcement seemed to me rather simple and sudden, for there had been no misunderstanding, no altercation, no difference of opinion between us as to the conducting of the Expedition; and it was known to Capehart, that we were to go, as soon as we got our guide to Barline. True I had remarked that there was not hearty co-operation on the part of Capehart in assisting me to quiet the fears of the men—but yet I expected his adherence in this business of the Government.

I replied to Capehart that if he abandoned his post in that manner,

it would be an act of desertion and so accounted by the Government. He said that he was able to satisfy the Government as to the propriety and reason of his act; and he persuaded the men to the same effect. They were however not altogether sure of his ability to do so; and there was a hesitancy in two or three to join those who wished to abandon the Expedition and return home, but being severely scolded by their companions for not being all of one mind they reluctantly consented to join in returning. They now began to invent, in my hearing sufficient reasons for going back, that they could get nothing to eat. They were however stinted in nothing that could procure them food, and beside we all shared alike and ate at the same time. It was nothing but the simple desire to go home, that animated them. It was the result of a conspiracy to return, begun at Dogbar's where they had abundance. Their movement was now entirely under the management of Capehart, and towards the close of the day they would get together and sing:—

"Far way from home, Far way from home
"Far way from home Capt'n Capehart, far way from home.
"I don't want to go up there, go up there, go up there.
"I don't want to go up there, too far away from home."

Meaning that they did not wish to go into the Mandingo Country through the Barline Country where war was then rampart from one end of that region to the other.

About 11 o'clock Thursday, June 25th, the following individuals headed by Capehart, abandoned the Expedition carrying their arms with them, namely, James Lawrence, Congo, William Yates, Congo, Joshua Sims, American, Henry Harrison, Congo, John Thomas, Congo, Andrew Givens, American, Richard Lambright, American, Thos. White, American, Thos. Wadworth, Golah, Robert Johnson, American—Six Americans, Four Congos, and one Golah, leaving but these men remaining with me, Geo. Wadsworth, American, Daniel Coleman, American, and Robert Smith, Congo. Every influence was brought to bear upon those three men to make them desert; but they faithfully adhered to their duty. Six of these people abandoning Government property, tents, ammunition, merchandise, books, instruments, etc., had been regularly hired according to law; had drawn up a contract and taken an oath to perform their duty, and had also received an advance from the Government. The act elicited the sympathy of all the natives of the town and they visited my house in numbers to assure me

of my perfect safety. The king declared that he would send me on to Barline without them; and he could not understand how people in government service, were at liberty to abandon it whenever they pleased, and go back home. Thus it was that the Government business was shamefully abandoned, and had our barbarians acted as atrociously as our people had acted dastardly and devoid of all sense of honor, and of duty, the few of us who remained would have assuredly had our throats cut, and all of the Government goods would have been plundered.

I expected my full share of vexation and perplexity when Providence gave a turn to my affairs but little expected by myself.

Early on Tuesday morning, June 30, Zodopanga came and offered me as many of his people as I should need for the compensation of 3 ps. of hdkf. to carry me a day's journey to Boway's town, in a more peaceful and plentiful region, and on the direct road to Barline. I accepted his offer and beheld myself in one hour's time travelling on the very road which recent occurrences had indicated, I should not be able to go on for sometime.

One hour's brisk walk carried me out of the limits of Waugi's territory, and instead of farms plucked of the last cassada stalk—were to be seen mountain sides of corn and rice, and soon succeeded, neat villages, whose clean clay cottages and spacious kitchens, lowing cows and bleating sheep, I gladly exchanged for the wretched squalor and dirty hovels of Waugi's warlike town. I reached Boway 5 o'clock p.m.

Though I had succeeded in getting away from Waugi's, yet I did not have the power of locomotion for all my luggage, when I pleased, and whenever I pleased. I had fifteen kingjars with only five carriers—having procured two hands at Waugi's to go the whole route in addition to the three I already had. I now commenced to feel all the inconveniences, consequent upon Capehart's desertion. I had now to resort to the practice of getting whatever chief I should visit, to send me on to the next chief, a most dependent and inconvenient plan, as you are in this case left at the will and caprice of any barbarian chief to send you on if he choose, or raise any obstacle to your going that may suit his interest or prejudice. I therefore always had it understood before I made any presents to a chief that my being sent on to the next king was one of conditions upon which he received his present, and it si this system, together with my strictly refusing to trade that enable me to go on at all.

Wednesday, July 1st, at Boway's or Bowauh's, I stated to this chief my business, and gave him his present, 4 ps. hdkfs. with the understanding of his furnishing carriers for my extra kingjars; every thing agreeably acceded to and as punctually carried out.

Thursday, July 2nd. Left Bowauh's town, Wangynah, a t 10 o'clock a.m. and reached Sinoya at 12:30 o'clock. On Friday 3rd, July, we had an interview with the rulers of this town which seemed to be under the authority of two headmen or chiefs, Seeway and Bahtah, they gave their consent to every thing, and said, the Americans could come at any time and share the whole country—that they would be glad to have them come.

When I spoke to them of the wars, they replied that wars there were, but that there was not a war throughout the whole Pessey country that would interfere with us. I gave them their present, they asked for rum, but I told them that the Government had purposely excluded this article, as it wished every one to be in full possession of his senses when they made agreements with the Government; that they made such havoc among themselves by the use of gun and powder, that they need not be surprised if the Government for a long while excluded these three articles altogether, rum, guns and powder.

Tuesday 7th, of July. Left Sinoya at 7 o'clock a.m. and came to Ponafah's town at 9 o'clock a.m., direction N. East. I now saw that I was traversing a portion of country cut up into small independent communities, not over one or two hours walk from each other—hostile, jealous, weak and poor; and that the Expedition would have to be bothered with every village kingdom of a dozen huts, that we should happen to fall upon. Had I had my own carriers they would have been treated with the unimportance that their insignificance deserved, instead of having to regard them with the same consideration and to make them as large a present as the greatest king in the country. But it was in their power to consume our means by exactions or theft and to lengthen out the time and distance of the journey by going round about paths to serve their own, or the interests of their friends. They were also in possession of the knowledge that they were carrying my kingjars in consequence of my own people having run away from that service. The only wonder is that they did not abuse their opportunity sooner and to a greater extent than what they did,

We now repeated the same duties of delivering our message and

making presents as usual and on Wednesday, 8th of July, took our leave of this town and came to Wawantah. The face of the country was wrapt in a vegetation rank and vigorous from the daily rains; the roads were deeply cut into narrow gullies. The feature of the land generally is of that up and down hill and dale character that repeats itself everywhere 15 or 20 miles in the rear of the seaboard of Liberia.

Left Wawantah Thursday, July 9th, and traveled in a level plain direction N. E.—came to Barmaquirlla's town.

Left Barmaquirlla's town Saturday, 11th of July—the level plain continuing. Crossed St. Paul's River upon a raft, the river being 100 yds. wide at this point; came to Sakatah, the largest and best town I had seen in the Pessey country, situated on a hill which by barometrical measurement is 150 feet high from the general level of the plain.

The St. Paul River was joined by a considerable tributary at the point where we crossed it—coming from the East; but the river is said to be uninterrupted for a good distance before you reach the next rapids; the general direction from which the river flows is North East by East; indeed the river has a great bend in this section of the country to the Eastward; it then seems to turn up and go N. E. and, North by East. The king of Sakatah, Popowa Keang, was a venerable fine-looking old man certainly different in his manners and appearance from any I had hitherto seen in the Pessey Country. I had almost forgot to mention that I had the good fortune to meet him at Barmaquilla's town and he showed the civility to leave off his business and to accompany me to his place; and it was chiefly owing to his presence that I met no trouble in being ferried over the river without toll. I had indeed got out of a region of Pessey country which bears a name strikingly descriptive of the filth and poverty of the people who inhabit it, and which, though it does strict justice to those whom it is meant to designate, cannot for want of decency be inserted here.

On Saturday night, July 12th, report was brought to the town, that war was approaching: it coming, it seems, from a king who formerly resided in the town, but who from some cause had moved away and became thereafter hostile to his friends: the people of the town kept watch all night; nothing appeared.

Monday we had an interview with the king; he begged us to interpose and use our offices in stopping a war between himself and the king who had formerly lived in the town and was now threatening him with

war. We promised to do all we could as we had it particularly given in charge to us to stop wars We therefore sent to our warlike neighbor, a messenger, (a disinterested party who did not live in the town with us) in order to sound the king as to measures of peace: and with out waiting for his return I despatched, on Tuesday, 14th, July two of my people with the flag to another party whom I learned was aiding and abetting his war. He became so frightened that he sent me a goat, a white country cloth and two of his people to assure me that he was not a party to any war whatever, but that the king of Phanefuro had called together a large war and was about to send it somewhere, but where he did not know. We sent to the king of Phanefuro who had war raging unbridled in his town, even beyond his own control, he declined to come where I was or to dismiss his war. The whole truth was that it was out of his power to do either. The war had been assembled, and go somewhere it must—or it would have turned its injury upon the one who bought it and devoured him.

I have been informed that these bought wars often do their purchasers more damage that the enemy against whom it is intended they are to fight.

On Saturday July 18th, about 3 o'clock p. m. I beheld a large town towards the Southwest on fire: it was afterwards found that the war had fallen upon the town and had taken it at a great loss to themselves.

I now began to grow anxious about the internal affairs of the Expedition and became solicitous to know what amount of goods I had on hand, how much had been used in presents and other miscellaneous expenses, and whether I had sustained any losses by any stranger-carriers, whom I had been obliged to employ, and whose conduct had given me some uneasiness owing to the undue and hasty speed with which they always ontran and distanced my own people—and myself—who though anything else but slow pedestrians, were always left far behind whatever might be our efforts or remonstrances.

Upon my first setting out, it had been my endeavor to give system and organisation to our party, as respected the particular duty assigned to each person. Those who were carriers were specially so by appointment. Only one person who was thought to be the most responsible and honest for the purpose was selected to get articles that might be called for, out of the kingjars:—and the whole business was so arranged that the Chief of the Expedition might be able to give his attention

purely to those affairs and higher duties which it was known to be impossible for the others to discharge.

After the defection and following desertion of Capehart and the men, the whole plan became deranged, and alterations had to be made in accordance with the diminution we had suffered in our numbers.

At Waugi's I took stock in order to see if what I had on hand would enable me to carry through the xpedition as I had projected it in my own mind. It stood as follows:

At Waugi's Saturday, 27th June, A. D. 1874, 78 Ps. of hdkfs' 16 Ps. of Calico, 9 Ps. Brilliant. A mixed quantity of Beads, 4 Brass Kettles, 4 Kegs of Powder, 6 Baltic shirts, Books, Instruments and Bibles; besides the Chief Commissioner's own goods which he had credited from Sherman and Dimery for the purpose of speculation at Musahdu.

It had been reported just the day before the men left that 40 heads of tobacco were on hand—but not a leaf was to be found after they had gone and 1 doz. small round looking-glasses were also missed according to the list. More than one half of the gun-caps were carried off and we only had in all 2 boxes containing 250 caps in each—500 caps—the Expedition had 3 guns left to defend its self with, and one of them was obtained by making after one of the deserters and seizing it from him.

At Sakatah, stock was again taken together with an account of what had been expended as presents and in other miscellaneous expenses. At the intervening places, no one would be so foolhardy as to count his money: unless he did so for the special purpose of losing all.

At Sakatah, Saturday, July 18th, A. D. 1874. Amount of goods on hand 22 Ps. Hdkfs, 6 Ps. Calico, 6 small Looking-glasses, 4 Kegs of Powder, 4 Brass Kettles, 6 Baltic Shirts.

Monday, 20th of July, Travelled from Sakatah to Bahquetah, king Seekokibo, direction East. Crossed a northern branch of the St. Paul's River, called "Ya." Went from Bahquetah to Yahtandah, kingYahseeah. Saturday, 25th July, left Yahtandah and came to Pallikah the most important town of the middle Pessey country.

The present aspect of this town but ill accorded with its former reputation. Kalminyah the king had lately died and it had been visited by a war which had burnt one half of it. The people were at the point of starvation when we arrived. They had planted extensively but some time must elapse before the crops would be ripe.

There was a war going on between these people and another Pessey

tribe called the Pelle or Belle people which had harassed the country for two years, without any advantage being gained by either party. I offered to mediate between them, but the Pallikah people behaved with so much insincerity that nothing definite or satisfactory could be arrived at.

It was at this town or while coming from Yahtandah to Pallikah, that the Expedition suffered serious losses in its stock of goods. This robbery came from a source which it was difficult to provide against or prevent, since it was perpetuated by one of my own carriers, a Pessy man by the name of Miller whom I had hired, in my great need, at Waugi's. He could speak English well, and his conduct was such as to gain greatly upon my confidence. The articles taken consisted chiefly of a dozen pieces of Madras Hhkfs. and several pieces of Calico: This man and his boy had charge of a kingjar containing goods which I had designed for Musahdu. As soon as he got to Pallikah he gave it out that he did not intend to go any farther; and as he had considerable influence over the others, he succeded in shaking their determination also to go with me: and confusion and indecision prevailed among them. The road between Yahtandah and Pallikah is the worst possible: and I had scarcely met so may ditches, holes, stobs, gutters and creeks in any one day's travel since I had been walking. My own people begged to be relieved from their kingjars as they were entirely fagged with carrying them. I consented to do so, telling them that they must be sure to keep up with the people who were carrying their kingjars. When I was scolding them about what had happened, they told me it was impossible for them to keep up with all the country people as they walked or ran with different gaits and in separate parties.

Thus robbed and thus again deserted and conspired against, my prospect of getting to Musahdu was very poor indeed. In the meantime I was taken seriously ill in consequence of the exposure I had been subjected to, and anxiety of mind I had undergone. For two days I was unconscious of what was going on around me. The Expedition was now considered as ended or broken up: it had suffered discomfiture at all points: robbed of its means, deserted by its carriers, and its Chief conductor half crazed, was lying prostrate and helplessly ill. All now with one or two exceptions began to behave in an indifferent or reckless manner: the ammunition was stolen and sold: bottles containing medicine and writing ink disappeared, stolen and sold for the purpose

of getting the bottles: insolence and petty theft were the order of the day. I recovered but slowly and my staggering motion in attempting to walk convinced all, that if I had any power of locomotion it had better be expended in a journey towards home, instead of persisting in going to Musahdu. My ailing left me with a swimming in my head from which to this day, I have not recovered: and I neither get up or lie down, but what the sensation is painfully present. The town was not only destitute of commonest necessaries of life, but hunger was so severe that several children died from the effects of it: all of us were scantily fed and I had been compelled to pay, at one time, 3 yds. of calico for a quart of rice. Hunger had to be borne within the day, and war had to be watched for at night.

As soon as I regained my strength my first care was to get away from Pallikah, I gave my attendants to understand that goods or no goods, whether they had ammunition to protect themselves with or not I intended to march them to Musahdu. They protested; but it was no use I was sufficiently peevish from my late sickness to insist on having my own will and mulishly obstinate enough to go just where anybody else did not wish to go, a frame of mind certainly not the most amiable, but good enough for those upon whom I was just then exerting it.

Pallikah is beautifully located, and was no doubt justly entitled to all the praise that has been bestowed upon it. But upon my arrival its glory had departed and no vestige remained of what I have heard about it .Its wall consists of clay and flat rocks firmly put together. There is a camwood forest about 2 or 3 hours walk North-West of the town—there were some large ivories in the town for sale. If peace and order could be established, Pallikah would be among the first towns in the Pessey country. Having made its Chief, Quirlebah, a suitable present I took my leave of this town. August, Wednesday 18th,—passed a town called Payasangah and came to Attanya a town seated on a high hill. The country is level all around with moderate sized hills rising here and there.

On Friday, August 21st, started from Pattahya and reached Bonya about 1. o'clock p. m. Saturday, 22nd of August, we had an interview with the king Fillingi. He had been at war and was still at war with a chief named Daffaborah. They had fought each other for ten years. It was proposed that I should attempt a mediation as both parties were

heartily tired; but, out of pride, they continued to carry on a languishing war with each other still.

While I was in the act of interfering to put an end to this feud, on Sunday morning, a crowd of women and children came rushing into the town crying, and a general lamentation took place all over the town. Daffaborah had made a raid upon one of king Fillingi's towns call Pillillay, had captured two hundred women, killed a half a dozen men, and these who had first come into the town were a part of those who had escaped. The king at once grew wroth and refused to let me carry out my intentions to negotiate a peace between him and Daffaborah.

Finding that nothing could be done in this respect, we consulted with the king about our own departure; but he was loth to have us leave him so soon: whether he wished to detain us for the sake of our assistance, should he be attacked, or to keep off an attack by the report of our being at his town we are not able to say, but he alleged that he feared something might happen to us, as the war bands were roaming all over the country, and the thick bush was filled with armed men watching the paths. He said that God had truly made some men different from others and that the American people did not seem to fear anything: that we had come to Pockpar and found war, come to Sakatah and found war, come to Seehokbo's and found war and had come to his town and found war and still we wish to go on.

On Thursday, 27th August, we accompanied the king to Pillillay. More than one half of the town was burnt and we walked over ground charred with cinders and burnt timber and covered with blood and lots of flies, we were detained at this town until Monday, 7th of September, owing to the inclemency of the weather. Having travelled in a direction East and N. East we came to the St. Paul's River about noon, which had become a rapid torrent in consequence of the rains. Here we were detained until 5½ o'clock p. m. in trying to cross the river, and a dangerous time we had of it. There was a raft made out of five logs about 14 feet long. The first load in crossing consisted of six individuals and 4 kingjars, which being paddled into the center of the stream became unmanageable and was driving rapidly to the falls below. The excitement of our people on shore, and the cries of the poor fellows on the raft who implored us to help them were truly heartrending; fortunately they were enabled to grasp a limb of a tree that extended unusually far out in the river, at the risk of capsizing. As soon

as they were safely landed on the other side, they refused to return unless I paid them right down, for their services, for they were not of my party, but had only volunteered to assist me in crossing. I called out to them that unless they wished me to commence a regular fusillade from my side of the river they had better not meddle with my kingjars.

Jackque, a young friend of mine, managed afterwards to persuade two of them to return with the raft and after much tugging and pulling to get ourselves up stream, we were embarked to take our share of being likely precipitated over the fall. Bravely we contended with the stream and were nearly across, when grasping a bush, it gave way under the force of the current and away we went, drifting down to the roaring falls. I urged my people to every exertion and nearing the shore and getting hold of a strong vine held on, to the submerging of the raft and the knocking overboard of two of my people; they however held to the raft. Had not the kingjars been tied on these logs we should have lost every thing, but Providence helped us. Three of my people, strong and expert swimmers, trusted themselves to this stream and, after they got out, they promised themselves not to try the experiment again; they were carried nearly to the falls. The river at this point is 150 feet wide. The fall, from its noise and roaring, would have been sufficient to have bumped anyone's brains out had he been swept down there.

About 5:30 o,clock having got all across we started to come up with the nearest town, but night overtook us. A worse road, full of ditches, holes, streams and logs; a darker or more rainy night never caught an unfortunate traveller. One of my carriers was completely knocked up and concluded to sleep in the woods all night. We however pushed on without knowing whither we were going: After stumbling over rock and falling into every ditch that crossed the path and groping along as best we could, we at last discovered a light nearing us and knowing it was some of our people who had already reached the town and were now returning to search us up,—we soon called out to each other, and were guided for the rest of the road by torch light We arrived at the town, where we were comfortably housed and were enabled to dry and warm ourselves and take some sleep.

The country being in a disturbed condition, we were not only annoyed by the discomfort of the road but by the dread of being mistaken for some sneaking war party and fired into by the watchers and guards of the

path: and even should we escape these, we should likely not obtain admittance into the town at that time of night, for our own people might not be able to persuade the town people to open their gates. So many strategems have been practiced among themselves to capture towns, that every thing is suspected. We arrived at this town about 11 o'clock at night.

The next morning we pushed on Eastward to Dowaytan, the king of which town treated us with so much hospitality that we felt ourselves somewhat compensated for all the troubles of the day and night before. All along the road could be seen large and extensive rice farms, there seemed to be no limit to the number.

I was now informed that after I crossed the St. Paul's River I had left the Barline Country, and had entered a different region of the Pessey country, certain it was their towns were larger and the population dense: their farming was on an enormous scale. The Barline people, and especially the people of Pallikah semed to have obtained a better reputation than they deserved: they were meaner and less hospitable, or they may have appeared so owing to the universal disturbances going on in their country.

Wednesday, 9th. of September. Started from Dowaytan to go Pahya, king Kryneseh. This king is considered the greatest and most powerful king in this section of country. Taking a direction North and North East we walked hard all day until 5 o'clock p. m.

When we had walked half of the day we changed the direction of our course and went directly West and South West, passing the walled towns of Pongya and Bellepomah: we came through several farming villages at one of which we halted at 5½ o'oclock p. m. and passed the night. Started for Pahya next morning, at which we arrived about 10 o'oclock a. m. The king was absent: in coming to this town we crossed two rivers running parallel to each other; one a branch of the St. Paul's and the other the St. Paul's River itself, the first a hundred feet wide. In crossing the second bridge two men demanded toll of us. I refused on the ground that I was not a trader, but sent by my Government to see their king: they remained inexorable and I continued stubborn and walked off refusing to pay anything for which they stopped one of my kingjars, the last that crossed over; and for their pains had to bring it themselves to the town, and got severe chinning together with risk of paying for anything, I might say, was lost out of the kingjar.

The king, as we before mentioned, was absent, but we were most kindly received by the town people. On Sunday, 11th of October, while we were waiting for the king to return, Capehart, the assistant Commissioner, accompanied by two Congoes, came. As soon as he arrived he set to work to learn by secret inquiring among my people what had become of all the goods, which he said he had left with me—and received from my Pessey boy John, the answer, that he ought to have stayed with the Expedition instead of runing away and he then would have seen what had become of the goods. He affected great sympathy with the Americans on account of their scantiness of clothes and began to make presents with the hope and purpose of extracting some mischievous information out of them. He came back deeply embittered against me: and to gratify his spleen did the Expedition evil service on more than one occasion.

Capehart's appearance certainly perplexed the good understanding we had with the people of the town, for seeking some one who could talk Vey he gave all kings accounts of the Expedition—what large presents the government had sent them: that I had ever so much money when he was with me; that he could not tell what had become of all the money: that no one had stopped me on the path, and no one had taken my money; what could I have done with so much money. This is the kind of service he rendered the Expedition from Pahya to Musahdu.

These statements so exasperated my people who knew the whole truth, that they took the pains to inform the people of the town, that it was owing to Capehart's conduct alone that the Expedition sustained the heavy losses which disabled it from making the usual present. The business had suffered irreparable injury from his hands. He had now returned to finish up his evil task; and to completely cross purpose the further progress of an Expedition he had already severely crippled by his former desertion

On Thursday, 15th, October, the king arrived and justified both in his noble appearance and by his attention and hospitality all that I had heard of him.

I had now to undergo another humiliating annoyance: the goods in the Government kingjars had given out and I was now using my own goods as presents or to purchase food. One of my carriers, an American, seemed to act as thief by appointment to the Expedition and in performance of that duty stole the very last present I had reserved for king

Kryneseh: in vain he was remonstrated with when openly caught in former smaller thefts, he was determined that nothing should be wanting to make him the worst aud the last thief. But he was faithful to the Expedition, followed it through its fortunes aud misfortunes, for a good many of the latter of which the Expedition is deeply indebted to him.

The king had a philosophy of temper that enabled him to smile at his own disappointment and to sympathise with mine, but as for me, I became furious.

Thus it was that the time of the Commissioner instead of being occupied in observing the features of the country through which he passed, its resouces of wealth and commerce, the manners and customs of its people was chiefly absorbed in dealing with the crimes and misdemeanors of a criminal court: theft, desertion, robbery, treachery principally committed by his own people. Started from Pahya on Wednesday, 21st October, passed the towns of Pellamu, Wayi and came to Bussayeh where we slept. It is a large and densely populated town: direction E. North E.

Left here on Thursday, 22nd October, and passed through Loe a town of considerable size and the clay walls of which were in good condition; passed Dowo Tuckahwu, came to Sappah, a very large town. It is a border town half Boozie and half Pessey. We had now passed the limits of the Pessey country: all the other towns after Sappah being fairly Wymar Boozie. Leaving Sappah we came to Bockamu, king Gavahsee's town halting there a few moments to gratify the curiosity of the people. We pushed on and came to Pynyah where we halted for a couple of days to rest ourselves. This large portion of the Pessey country from where we had crossed the St. Paul's River at Pahya to the borders of the Boozie country was in a peaceful condition, the towns were large and provisions in abundance.

Pynyah is a large Boozie town ruled by my old friend Dowilnyah. Left Pynyah on Sunday 25th, and in company with a man whom Dowilnyah had sent from Gulbewallah to attend me on the route came to Boe and reached Ziggah-Porrahzue where the great market was going on about 10 o'clock a. m. Several Mandingoes mounted on their horses attend. We reached Gubbewallah on Sunday 25th, of October A. D. 1874, about 6 o'clock p. m. I was now in a town which I had visited in 1868, about six years ago.

The king Dowilnyah, looked as hearty as ever, and was very glad to

see me. Again we had to protect ourselves against the insinuations of Capehart: and truths had to be told on him which the king would have never known had it not been for his officiousness to do evil. We made the king a present of a tent, a flag, a fine sword and several other minor articles: and on Monday November 2nd, 8:30 o'clock a. m. went from Gubbewallah in a direction N. and E. passed through one of Dowilnyah's half towns; and came to Pellezarrah, where a large market was going on, and where Jebbue or Eboe, Dowlinyah's former Counsellor now presided as Chief; at 2 o'clock p. m. The road all along led through long grass and canebrake; the trees as usual begining to disappear.

Tuesday, 3rd. of November. Left Pellezarrah direction E. E. N. E. crossed the Vukkah hills and came to Ballatah at noon. We were bid to wait some time before the gates; that the town people might collect in the square for to receive us: this practise seems to prevail throughout this section of the country where the strangers visit their towns. No one will assume the resonsibility of admitting strangers in the town until the town people have been assembled in the sqnare to see and interrogate them. Precaution for their safety is the reason why they resort to this particularity. We were admitted, and as it was partly known who we were Dowilnyah having sent his attendants along with us—we were most cordially received and welcomed again and again. The people began to bring their gold rings for trade but I could spare nothing to make purchases as I had to make small presents even to these subordinate rulers of Dowilnyah's country. I gave the Chief of this town a present of a brass kettle, and had made a similar present to the Chief of Pallezarrah.

Left Ballatah on Wednesday 14th, taking a direction North and North East, the Yukkah range being on our left and parallel to our route. The whole Country on each side of our path was covered with farms of rice, corn and sweet potatoes. After two hour farther walking we came upon a region certainly delightful to look on, spread all over as far as the eye could reach with farming hamlets,—flocks of sheep—herds of cattle, the herd close to our path must have contained at least fifteen hundred,–and every hillock seemed to have its herd. But the motion of the yellow black herds one or two miles away, grazing in the green plains below--was a peculiar sight. This is the farming and grazing district of the town of Vukkah once an insignificant dirty little Boozie village, but now grown to a flourishing and important Mandingo

town. We reached Vukkah 12 o'clock noon, where after the usual halting at the gate to await the gathering of the town people, we were introduced and found it filled with Mandingoes, to whom the numerous herds of cattle belong; these people having been forced out their own country by war, a region north east of Musahdu and a day's walk from thence.

Thursday, November 5th, we remained all day at this town to give ourselves some rest, and to survey a neighborhood that made such substantial progress since our last visit in 1868.

We were struck with the fact, that the Mandingoes of this town were not Mahommedans, and we were soon informed of the circumstances, that had caused them to be here. The Chief of these Mandingoes whose name is Nyammah, was reigning in prosperity and peace in country which is a day's walk North east of Musahdu as we have above mentioned.

His nephew Sargee who lives and holds independent sway over the region, bordering westward on his uncle's territory, is represented as a turbulent and warlike prince, sparing the dominions neither of his friends or relations. He made a demand upon his uncle Nyammah for troops to assist him in his raids over the country, for he wanted to walk about, as he expressed it; whereupon his royal kinsman did not exactly flatly refuse him but excused himself from contributing to Sargee's forces on the ground that most of his people were occupied with their farms.

This answer so displeased Sargee, that he formed the design of driving his uncle from the country; and of having no one close to him that did not either cooperate with him or become subject to his authority. He has acted up to his policy, for he has either subdued all his neighbors and brought them into submission or violently expelled them from the country,—chasing his uncle to the very foot of the Vukkah hills and still threatening to force him over these mountains into the Boozie country. In these operations he did not even scruple to include Musahdu and its subordinate towns, some account of which shall be given in our narration further on, when we come to describe our stay in Musahdu. Vukkah is in daily expectation of further attacks during this dry season.

We visited the market of Vukkah and found it plentifully supplied with a variety of articles such as earthen pots of many sizes and designs

—cooking wood—rice, palm butter, craw-fish, catfish, soap, tobacco, potatoes, pepper, corn, iron, kola, ground-nuts, onions, snuff—cow's milk butter at which my own, people were astonished for no one dreamt of seeing nice fresh butter at 8 and 10 cents per lb. at Vukkah when it was selling at Monrovia for seventy five cents or a dollar per pound —yet there was no room for a doubt for the facts were before our eyes and there were half a dozen of us to see it, taste and purchase it.

There are many fine horses at Vukkah; but I was particularly struck with the art and perfection with which these people renew their gun-stocks. Vukkah may be said to be famous for its manufacture of butter and gunstocks as Ballatah is famous for its manufacture of iron; a description of which I had occasion to give in an account of my former visit to Musahdu in 1868 and 69. Several villages belonging to Ballatah are devoted to this special business.

On Friday, November 6th. We left Vukkah for Musahdu after having made the king a present of my best military coat which by the avaricious maneuvering of another of his nephews, Tobah by name, fell into his possession; but it was a mantle destined not to fall on Tobah's shoulders, not indeed because they were too broad but because the stature of this scheming nephew was full seven feet high which not only made the coat too short but made it go by chance as well as by fit to its rightful owner Nyammah. a moderate sized man like myself.

On our way to Musahdu the road was so hemmed in on each side by tall grass, that we could scarcely get a look at the country. Direction E. North East: we turned Southward and came to a Village about 3 o'clock where we halted for the night.

On Saturday, November 7th. We started at 7 o'clock and regained the main road, passed through Vokkadu and a little village where we ate some potatoes, and came to Musahdu itself about 3 o'clock p. m.

Making the usual halt that the people might gather in the town, we were introduced and received with demonstrations of welcome.

Tuesday, November 9th. We had an interview with the king Vomfeedolla, stating to him the particular object of our visit. But now a serious difficulty arose which I had all along foreseen and expected. In 1868 in the month of December, when I was at Musahdu, the king and the principal men of the town wrote a long and important letter to the President or we may say the Government, to which no reply during five or six years had been made. It was natural enough to suppose

that before we could open or begin upon any fresh matter, some explanation would be given as to what disposition had been made of this letter or whether there was any reply to it. Nothing properly had been done that might be considered an answer to what had been written to us, and it was awkward enough to come with new propositions when the first or old ones received no attention whatever. The king therefore wished to know whether I had any reply to what he and the Chiefs had written, and if it took us six years to answer one letter, and I was sure that I had delivered his letter to the Government. I replied that my coming back again to his country together with what I was sent to read and say to him, was considered and intended by the Government as an answer to his letter. That truly five or six years had elapsed, but what was merely an experiment or trial then had been now organized into a law; and communication would be more frequent and regular. I had been compelled as I have before related to arrive in this country without any goods, owing to the conduct of my people in deserting. The consequences of their behaviour were the more grievously felt when I began to come among these large communities where it was eminently necessary for the sake of the character of the Government to be able to make respectable presents. I was only enabled to present the king of Musahdu with a pair of boots, one of our flags and some writing paper. When I started on the Expedition Hon. H. W. Dennis, gave me half dozen large Arabic bibles finely printed and well bound. Reserving one of them for myself I gave four of them to the king to be distributed among his men of learning and one I sent through him to Medina to Blamer Sissy, with his name written in it and the day, date and place of its bestowal together with the names of the Commissioners presenting it. I wrote similarly in the others.

These Books were a wonder in Musahdu, for no one had seen such enormous and at the same time such fine specimens of Arabic printing; besides the books were excellently bound. I was curious to know whether or not they would be read. I had proofs enough that they could be read and understood too.

One afternoon I had the pleasure of hearing one of the learned men whom I had seen attend the Imaum at the Mohammedan service reading the *Altakween*, the "Beginning." He was sitting on the ground and had the book spread out before him: he would read two or three lines in Arabic and then tell its meaning in Mandingo to those standing around.

I must therefore be allowed some credit, and I hope the honor will not be grudged me, when I say that I am the first missionary that ever carried our Scriptures into that portion of Soudan, and this I have done to some purpose I am persuaded; since then, they will be read and understood: while my brethren of various denominations have confined their labors for a half hundred years to the wooden-headed tribes of our coast. When I was at Vukkah, Capehart took a notion to amuse himself with one of Mr. Morris's papers, the Liberia Advocate; many copies of which had been given to me by his agent, Mr. Good, for distribution. That number furnished a piece in Arabic characters with a full translation in English. It began well, inviting the Chief, to come and see us etc., but midway it contained an unsavoury revelation about our once being slaves. Now the Mandingoes have a hard-hearted and unalterable opinion respecting the freest man if he has once been a slave. Capehart called my attention to this imprudent disclosure, which so alarmed me for my future standing in Musahdu that I cut out the offending passage, both the English and the Arabic, leaving the Mandingoes to conjecture what they pleased as to what caused those two uneven gaps in that paper. Remembering that Prof. Blyden once complained to me how hurtful in its influence a similar writing contained in the prefatory remark of some bible brought from Beirut,—might prove, I wondered how the present mischievous confession could have ever crept into a piece meant to be a general invitation to the noblest Africans in the land, as well, as also, to show our own dignity and importance.

Since my visit to Musahdu in 1868 that ancient town has been troubled by a warlike expedition as scourging as Blamer Sissy's incursion, an account of which I have given in my Narrative of journey to Musahdu in 1868 and '69. In the beginning of the dries in 1873, Sargee's war bands having scoured the whole country, at length marched against Musahdu itself and held that capital in siege for seventy five days: the people were in such straits that they were compelled to dig wells in the town to supply themselves with water and to use the material out of which their houses and horse stables were built, for fuel to cook with. Sargee all the while, accompanied by his horse men rode around the walls taunting and insulting the inhabitants. One day the besieged people called out to him asking him what had they ever done to him that he should bring war against them; to which it was answered what had the chickens done to the hawks that the hawks

were always seizing and devouring them: an answer equally true and equally cruel, Sargee had no better reason than the hawks.

These unrelenting cavaliers are said to put a very simple alternative to a poor foot soldier who can neither further fight nor fly: they hail him with "Stand and you are a slave; run and you are a corpse."

Things were now growing desperate in Musahdu: soon all food of every kind would be exhausted: the beseigers were in possession, and consuming the farms outside. It was therefore resolved by the Musahdu people, that messengers would have to be sent to Blamer Sissy for aid,—with whom it seems they were now, not only upon good terms, but in close relationship. In order to get their messengers clear of Sargee's army who had surrounded the town and was narrowly watching every movement, a battle would have to be fought. Three messengers were selected so that if one or two fell the third at least might escape to perform the service. The messengers were made ready; the day was appointed: the people of the town issued forth and desperately engaged Sargee's force; in the general melee, the messengers escaped. The people withdraw again into the town having sustained some loss, but effected their purpose. Two weeks thereafter Blamer Sissy came with his famous cavalry of a thousand horses and an arrangement was made between him and Sargee that the latter should in none of his enterprises in that section of the country disturb any Mohammedan town: and Musahdu in particular was to be considered inviolable: on the other hand Sargee was to be at liberty to wage war against any Caffre (pagan) town, Mandingo or Boozie, that he chose. Pleased with this settlement of an affair in which he would have been inevitably worsted had they come to blows, Sargee confirmed his understanding with Blamer Sissy by an oath; presented the king with two hundred captives which he had taken in his wars: and took his departure for his own capital Barqunah. His war-bands are still preying upon such Mandingo towns as are not able to withstand their attacks. Sargee can muster a cavalry of five hundred horses.

The Mandingoes of Musahdu were anxious to know our military resources, and whether we could bring our forces into their country: why we did not come in numbers and trade, since a few of us were not afraid to venture a journey to their country. They suggested the idea that we should make an establishment. They were animated no doubt with the idea, that this would give protection, permanence and

safety to their own home, in addition to the advantages of trade; they assured us that they were willing to travel backward and forwards in our company with their cattle and trade, but that the Pessey country was too unsettled for them to attempt traffic by themselves through it.

I had made the king an insignificant present, but he had so delicate a sense of hospitality that he seemed studious to show that his regard for our comfort was not abated in any respect on that account: and he would often come himself with the people who brought our food in order to see it properly delivered to us.

He became an attentive and patient listener to all I had to say for the Government. He earnestly represented to me his difficulties; solemnly assured me, that even my visit to Musahdu would be construed into all kinds of purposes and engagements with the Government, that even his own friends became jealous, suspicious and envious. His friends would suspect he had received large gifts and would demand their share—his enemies would likely pounce upon him as soon as I was gone hoping to wrest from him by violence and war, what they supposed I had given him. He regretted much that I had not brought him a good quantity of powder. He brought up the letter business again: wanted to know in what light I had represented him to the Government; and he so agitated my feelings and sympathies, that I endeavoured to reconcile his mind and to assure him that the Government would certainly be more mindful of his country and his affairs hereafter; and that he might always be sure of at least one visit a year; and that he should send some of his men of learning to Monrovia to represent in full the state and condition of his country, whereupon I was given to understand, that had the letter been answered it would have established confidence and assured them of a proper reception and treatment.

Not answering the letter was looked upon by the chief men of Musahdu as little less than an insulting indifference; and I hope that this will be the last instance in which in our dealing with the powerful and intelligent communities of Soudan we will show a carelessness, that would be culpable negligence, if it was practiced towards the rudest savages to be found on the continent.

One day we had an interview in which several Mandingoes from Bopora, took a part: and the assistant Commissioner (talking in Vey) according to his custom did the Expedition as much ill service as it was in his power. Stating the great amount of money I had started with, a great

portion of which was destined for Musahdu: his entire ignorance of what had became of it, that he lately joined the Expedition by a different route and found that the money was gone: that he would have the whole matter looked into when he got home. The Mandingoes at Musahdu are not easily carried away by every wind and doctrine: and my friends not only informed me of what was said to my detriment but advised me not to bring my assistant again with me to Musahdu as he had been laboring to injure me. Then was the truth as to his conduct and the consequent loss of the goods fully set forth; and the Mandingoes were brought to know that about the Expedition, which they otherwise would never have learned.

After I had been in Musahdu several days I was introduced to Blamer Sissy's general, Dah Cidee: he was a young man about 28 or 30 years of age.

Blamer Sissy in order to insure the safety of Musahdu and its neighboring town, had placed detachments of troops in all of them the whole being under the command of this young general. We became fast friends and were wont to exchange visits. He was inclined to be communicative, but he was certainly surly. I never saw him smile or laugh once during my whole stay in Musahdu, He came to my house often and I suspected him of prying into my affairs in order to report to his master Blamer Sissy at Medina, all he could learn respecting me. When we had become very intimate, he continually pressing upon me to go to Medina—spoke contemptuously of the Musahdu people, declared that what they had was nothing to what Blamer Sissy's kingdom could show: that his master had gold by the measure, the great size of Medina, its large population—its wealth in comparison to all I had seen at Musahdu: and outside reports confirmed that what he said was true, He wished me to go and spend a year there. One morning on visiting his home he offered me a heavy gold ring for paper. I proposed to give him eight sheets of writing paper for it: he charged ten. I did not haggle, but paid it down and also gave him a sheet as a present. The next day a Bopora Mandingo informed him, that I had not given enough by twice the amount and representing the matter to the king, had the bargin re-opened. I grew angry, and stood upon my pride and refused to give a single sheet more, though I had abundance of paper. I resented the interference of the Bopora Mandingo and, with more pride than profit, demanded a return of the paper and the bargain to be

cancelled; and I was heartless enough to return even a gift of rice which the young man had made me in consequence of our bargain and our friendship: a piece of foolishness of which I have often since repented. Dah Cidee commenced to take it to heart and I could see that the young man's feelings were deeply wounded in the business, but his Musahdu friends or more strictly the Bopora Mandingoes who were at the bottom of the whole of it—would not let him exercise the wishes of his own heart: so he came the next morning and openly confessed that he was in the wrong, but that in all his actions he was closely watched; and that he was not free to do as he pleased outside of the especial business on which he had been sent. I thereupon tried to make amends for my own harshness and gave him three sheets of paper: telling him at the same time, that a bargain was a bargain with a Tibbabu [American] and that we never receded from the terms of a bargain, when once it had been agreed upon and the article exchanged. He said that what he really wanted was powder. I told him I had none for sale.

On Thursday, 12th of November, the king went to the Mohammedan service full dress and on horseback accompanied by his relations similarly mounted. The service was held outside the mosque on the Eastern side all the principal men of the town came on horseback. The Imaum dressed in a scarlet cloak mounted a stool covered with a white cloth, while six attendants held a large white covering over his head during the time he was reading the service. Dah Cidee, finely mounted and in full war dress, and accompnaied by a detachment of his soldiers came to service and received a special blessing from the Imaum.

The service occupied two hours; they sat in regular rows upon their knees: as soon as their worship was over they mounted their horses and rode around the mosque several times. In this exercise a young lad of sixteen was carried by his steed under the eaves of a house and swept off: the vicious animal accompanying the act with a kick with both hind feet, which fortunately missed the boy, but would have certainly killed him if the blow had reached him.

Many of these animals are fiery and vicious and have a knack of biting and kicking and running up against obstacles to bruise your limbs or brush you off. One of my friends, who seemed to be desirous of seeing his horse play his wanton tricks on a Tibbabue, saddled and bridled him for me to ride, but I called one of my carriers, Coleman, a tall Kentuckian and a tyrant and a terror to rude and evil horses. The Man-

dingo refused to let Coleman mount him for Coleman came at him as if he would throw the horse instead of the horse throwing him.

In the afternoon the King sent word that I must accompany him to the great square where the Mohammedan services were still going on: this time out of condescension to me he went on foot, and I dresed myself somewhat after their fashion and went with the King and took my place beside him: on his carpet. The military exercise commenced and many speeches were made in which the Liberians were complimented upon their regard for Musahdu in having sent messengers twice to see the town and the King, which had not been done to any other Mandingo community in their country. This I know disturbed the jealousy of Dah Cidee whose growing dislike to the Musahdu people showed itself daily for he was in constant palavers with them about his soldiers; and he was always underrating them to me and exalting the importance of his own Sovereign, Blamer Sissy.

The military gathering was very large: it consisted of archers who seemed to be a body particularly by themselves, fusileers, whose muskets made out in firing, always snapping two or three times before they would fire. The cavalry was a strong and very effective body. Seeing that I was pleased at the way they managed their horses: my friend hinted to me that I must stop coming to Musahdu on foot, that I must ride, that every gentleman in Musahdu had a horse, that I was well able to buy one, that I had obliged their King to come on foot to the great play because I did not know how to ride. That if I bought a horse they would soon learn me, and that we could then go easily to any of the neighboring towns together. This was a very good admonition in this part of Africa.

Many little incidents interesting in themselves and illustrative of the character and manners of these people occurred, during the nine days of my abode in that town.

Once I went to pay Dah Cidee a visit and seeing a number of fine-looking young men standing around him, I inquired who they were, individually, and received the invariable answer" Blamer Sissy Saifah,, i. e Blamer Sissy's soldiers. They were the finest looking young men both in feature and in stature that I had ever seen. We quickly became intimate friends. One morning going out the southern gate leading to the market hill, several of them were on the hill playing with their arms and as soon as they saw me made a semblance of attacking.

I immediately charged them sword in hand—apparently killing the first and wounding two of his comrades and they were exceedingly amused at seeing the Tibbabue jumping around in big boots and doing deeds of valor. Coming out of this same gate another morning I met a number of Blamer's young soldiers who ranged themselves in a line and extended their muskets slanting to the ground, which is a military salute of respect with them. They little knew the feelings that act provoked in my breast. It is hard to say which is in most need of the other: the Liberians of the Mandingoes or the Mandingoes of Liberians. One thing is certain, that it will not be wisdom for Liberia to remain another year out of Soudan commercially or politically.

As the weather promised fair I attempted on Friday, 13th of November, to take an observation; my artificial horizon of quicksilver was giving me no little trouble and exhibiting a surface scarcely as large as a twenty-five cent piece, and that covered with scum. While I was standing near waiting for a favorable opportunity, with my sextant in hand, there being white flying clouds—a woman with that meddling ruinous curiosity belonging to her kind, put her hand on the vessel containing the quicksilver and tilted it: in a moment it was in a thousand spangles on the sandy ground beyond the possibility of collection or recovery. I was exasperated enough to have struck her to the ground, but the poor creature was sufficiently stricken with fright, and I strove to practice that even temper of mind, of which king Kryneseh in the Pessy country had given me an example: to be moved, excited or provoked at nothing; especially as so many misfortunes were happening to me and to the Expedition under my conduct. I afterwards substituted palm butter well strained, which being gradually warmed by the rays of the sun gave me a wide clear and unobscured horizon superior in every respect to the darkened limited one I had just been deprived of.

It is the ambition of the Musahdu Mandingoes to speak English: this is particularly so with the women. One of my Congoes carried away by an undue feeling of affection or politeness was accustomed to address all the woman he met in Musahdu, by the name of My Dear. Going out one morning through the eastern gate to take an airing, I was accosted by a Mandingo girl "My Dear Tibbabue ekoonah," i. e. My Dear American good morning:'—on she passed triumphing in her own mind that she had effected something in English, not knowing

that she had really said more than perhaps, she intended. The term was afterward universally applied to us by the women: and I could not but anathematize the Congo for his foolish sentimentalism. But the stranger that may now enter the gates of Musahdu will be assuredly greeted with it by the women if he is an American.

I now began to thing of taking my leave of Musahdu and signified my intention to the king: he requested me to sit down. He then held his two hands together and caused his people to fill them up with gold rings, saying that he had intended what I saw for me, with the expectation that I would have returned quickly and brought him some trade; that he had even persuaded his people to get together their cattle and gold so as to have a lot of trade on hand ready when I should have returned. But I had gone and stayed away so long and had even made him so ashamed among his own people: that he scarcely knew how to depend on me. I told him that all he said was true, yet it was not my fault; but that I would labor hereafter to prevent a recurrence of a similar neglect and would farther try and bring along with me some American traders and establish them in his country. He gave me another letter to the Government, with the intimation that he hoped we would not take six years more to answer that.

On Monday, 16th of November, we took our final leave of Musahdu and coming to the same village we had quartered at when we were on our way to this town, we found it so occupied as not to be able to afford us lodgings. We had therefore no other resource but to push on to Vukkah quite a long stretch from Musahdu and which we attained only by hard and rapid walking: the elevated hills of Vukkah seemed to be at our feet but it took us from 7 o'clock a.m. to 6 o'clock p. m. to reach town itself.

Tuesday, 17th of November, rested at Vukkah. Between Vukkah and Musahdu, are the great plains of iron, of which I had occasion to speak in my travels of 1868 and '69. Owing to the distance and the great haste we were in, to gain the town before night, we could give but little attention to the appearance of objects around us, but seeing a black substance obtruding itself, in patches and pieces, through the soil, iron ore and stunted reddish grass, I stepped out of the road and took small pieces, and it has since proved to be, by persons capable of judging—what I suspected it was—stone or anthracite coal. It is really needed where it was found, if any use is to be made of those

plains of metal from whose bosom it was taken. But Vukkah and its neighborhood, is a mineral district, and will prove valuable in more respect, than one whene'er it comes to be examined. Our friends at Vukkah showed us all kinds of hospitality upon our return. These Mandingoes exhibit an ingenuity and talent in every thing they attempt. On the night of our arrival, with an instrument the sounds of which resembled the tones of a piano, they came and serenaded us. The instrument is a curious construction of 8 keys of a hard and sonorous wood attached to a double number of gourds sized to regulate the sound. They are certainly, by nature skilful musicians and ahead of our Veys who are not to be lightly held in that respect.

About 5 o'clock p. m. Tuesday, 17th. of November—a tornado came up; the country is situated so that in these exertions of nature, you may be standing in a region wholly undisturbed, while it is raging in another plainly visible to you. So it was at Vukkah: a tremendous clap from the east, and thereafter black and grayish clouds muttering with thunder and every now and then quickening with lightning, came billowing along the sides of the Vukkah hills while their summits were at the same time lit up with the glory of a setting sun presenting a scene of grandeur never seen and impossible with us down this way because of the absences of great physical developments of land.

We started from Vukkah 7 o'clock a.m. and passed through the same flourishing district along the base of the Vukkah hills we had passed through before on coming to Musahdu. The cattle had not been turned out, and the women were busy milking. The animals seemed to be very tame, for they are confined in no way during the process of milking, the women milking one ten or fifteen minutes and then going to another. The pens or yards made of the crooked brushwood of the country stretch along the path on each side, and are also scattered in all directions over the face of this fruitful plain. My own people had a happy time of it and I could scarcely get them away from the place owing to the Mandingo girls interfering with corn and potatoes and invitations to help and wait until they cooked rice, etc. We travelled on with the Vukkah hill on our right and reached Ballatah about 10½ o'clock a. m.

Some of my people who lagged behind reported to me that a Mandingo Chief accompanied by 25 warriors—having been driven from his home by Sargee, was on his way to Dowilnyah's to seek protection and

a place to reside within the Boozie territory. Had we been established there, this man would have resorted to us. A travelling fort in that country would be the nucleus of a Liberian-Mandingo settlement numbering many towns as large Vukkah or Musahdu itself and that before two years had elapsed.

This chief had to pass through Ballatah but the king, Pownla, on account of some old feud refused to allow the distressed man a passage; we ourselves strove to prevail on the king, but he remained obstinate. Pushing on from Ballatah we came to Pellezarrah 4 o'clock p. m.

On Thursday, 18th. November, we left Pellezarrah 8 o'clock and passed the towns of Vasser Assahghi came to Gubbewallah 2½ o'clock p. m. That afternoon about 5 o'clock, we had a very hard shower of rain accompanied with hail. Left Gubbewallah Saturday 21st November and came to Ziggah Porrah-Zue about 10 o'clock having crossed the St. Paul's River: travelling briskly we passed Boe and came to Pynyah.

Left Pynyah Monday 23rd. passed Yuckubori and Yabu the road all along being remarkably level, we halted at Yokabu, king Gavasee's town and accepted his hospitality of fowl and rice, firing my revolver for his gratification; we passed on to Sappah and came to Formu a new town being built by the Sappah people. All these people showed us uniform kindness and I endeavored to requite them as well as I was able, not hesitating to part with my wearing apparel piece by piece. We left Formu on Tuesday, 24th. November, the last Boozie town; and began to traverse the Pessey region: we passed Bassyahwaney a Pessey town and crossed a branch of St. Paul's river on a floating bridge made to rise and fall with the swelling of the stream, its course at this point is E. S. E. We arrived at Pahya 1½ o'clock p. m.

On Monday November 30th started from Pahya direction West: passed one of Kryneseh's towns, Suckoramu, and came to a town called Kelamu the people of which refused at first to let us pass as they seemed to be hatching up some mischief among themselves: after wrangling and parleying for some time they at last consented to let us pass around the inside barricade so that we might regain the main road: this was the only town during our whole journey that was unkindly disposed toward us: about 4 o'clock we were unexpectedly introduced into Zolu a town I had spent some time in on my first visit to Musahdu in 1868. We had edged our way Westward on the Boozie Country again. My friends

were delighted at seeing me again. Leaving Zolu Tuesday, December 1st, and passing through one of its villages we arrived at Pattahya at 3 o'clock p. m. The road was a private path made to avoid war parties. A rougher road for holes, ditches, and every other obstruction we had not met. From Pattahya we reached Pallikah about 10 o'clock. On Tuesday we started from Pallikah and came to Jowah, on Friday we passed Bellamu, Yangwelli Pallingah and came to Bockquetah Seetroeebo's town 3 o'clock p. m. Saturday, 5th of December, having crossed the St. Paul's river we came to a town called Pye. Dec., Monday 7th, journeying from Pye and passing a village we came to Barmaquirlla's town where we met the king of Sakatah, Popowskearg, who had changed his place of abode in consequence of the treacherous conduct of some of the people of Sakatah.

Tuesday, 8th of December, we started from Barmequirlla's town, and passing through several small villages we came to king Barta's town where we breakfasted. Pushing on to Ponafah's town we reached Sinoya: the next day we came to Darpella's town. On Thursday 10th we started from Darpella's—direction South and South West—passed through 8 villages and came to Dogbar Krapo—we halted at this town and rested several days. On Monday, 14th December, we took our leave unaccompanied however by assistant Commissioner Capehart, who chose to remain at this town: for two successive days we had to take up our quarters in the woods there being no town for 2 or 3 days walk between the town we had left and the vicinity of Careysburg; we therefore had to "bush" it. On Wednesday during our travel the path was so obstructed by trees and vines pulled down by the elephants, that we could scarcely make our way over them. This region plentifully abounds with them. We got in to George Simpson's town, a Pessey man, about 3 o'clock.

He complained to me of the conduct of Capehart's people in passing through and seizing his fowls after they had deserted and were returning home from Waugi's town. I made him all the amends I could, and tried to sooth his feeling in the matter.

Thursday, 17th of December, we started from Simpson's, gained Careysburg, pushed on and arrived at Mr. A. Washington's on the St. Paul's River about 4½ o'clock p. m. and on Friday 1 o'clock we were walking in streets of Monrovia.

In submitting the report to your Excellency, I have to say, that the

Expedition was well furnished, so far as goods or merchandise was concerned: or the means which were necessary to secure the favor of those among whom it had to pass, and yet no Expedition was ever more cursed or rendered unfortunate through the disaffection and improper conduct of its own people. The Expedition was, however, forced, in spite of all difficulties, to its destination, nor should it have seen Monrovia again, had it not reached it.

THE PESSEY COUNTRY.

It will be seen—may it please your Excellency that it would be of immense service and advantage, if we were to establish some show of power there, that is, if the government were to do so.

It is a district populous and fertile enough, but so distracted, not by real war, but petty funds, that, for want of order and quietude, it benefits us very little. It is however, beyond all doubt, the granary of this portion of Liberia; and the place from which is to be derived all our manual labor.

A system should be inagurated in which any number of small or even large children, being procured, should be brought down and bound in our Courts under certain restriction and regulations (learning to read and write in addition to their trade or avocation) imposed by the Government on those who are to be their guardians. This would be a great blessing to the Pessies in general who are a people of a mild and mouldable disposition, and who from their docility and tractableness, bid a fair to outtravel all our surrounding tribe in immanual and artizan labor. The distinction has not been sufficiently understood between laboring civilizing and bookishly educating our natives: Since many have been bookishly educated without being really civilized, and have become the worst elements in the body politic, is a fact that the civilized native even if he is not so bookishly educated is the best member of society: though a just mean makes the best man.

The Government can easily dominate the Country itself, by erecting 10 block houses which is sufficient to span within an easy day's march of each other to the Boozie section, close to Mahsahdu; or within four days walk of that place. It would introduce a settled order peace and encouragement to industry among them as they now stand. The Pessey Country is where we are to get our grain and manual labor from: they also manufacture a great number of country cloths.

But they cannot be said to be wealthy, that is, you cannot go to a single man and have a dealing of a thousand dollars with him.

He cannot offer you a hundred head of cattle: he cannot sell you a thousand weight of ivory or a thousand pieces of cloth: yet from their collective industry, pretty much like it is in the coastwise trade (where time and trust are also largely allowed)—the population being dense—you can by traveling from place to place secure a great deal. Introduce order and security and that which is a great deal will become an immense quantity.

There are people there, that is, the kings of large sections of territory, who would be glad if the Government would establish protection, along the roads, and assume rule where nobody rules and all is anarchy and confusion:— and as kings Kesny and Kryneseh say, they would join the Government in working or fighting to establish that end; they are willing to make the roads where the Government wishes and as it wishes, but the Government must keep them open: no one Pessey king, having power or authority enough to keep a road open beyond the extent of his own territory; These people are willing for anything the Government chooses to propose and promise co-operation in every way.

In improving a road already made no better people could be employed for cheapness or whatever else.

In making regular civilized roads, where the wheel-barrow, spade and pickaxe are to be handed-under proper direction and for a very small amount, the Pessey people would both please and surprise us.

So here is a country extensive in territory and dense in population and easily manageable.

The Boozie Country may be said to be in a similar condition and stepping out of that section into the region of the

MANDINGO LAND

We come to a country and people somewhat different to deal with. The Mandingo country is an elevated plateau 192 miles in a straight line from Monrovia direction North 47° 45′ 30″ East; and by an easy dry time journey can be reached in 12 or 15 days. When you get there, you come among communities large, powerful and warlike; and not without intelligence, and in an open country.

From a single individual you can purchase 2 or 3 hundred head of cattle—gold in quantities can be bought: horses at $30, $40 and $50 apiece.

Civil commotions are quite frequent, troublesome and upon an extensive scale. Commerce beingthe forerunner of civilization, the Government would have to establish in this country a strong trading fort, with an armament of 2 guns and 50 men: this located at the base of the Vukkah hills could hold its own without difficulty —our merchants trading to and fro and acting in conjunction. All the trade in cattle, gold and horses would certainly be attracted to this point. In fact we would have command of the trade, and a prosperity with which we are entirely unacquainted and unused to would seen visit this section of Liberia. Besides the Mandingoes themselves would come down with their substance in the same way that they now go to the Gambia and the Senegal: places, much farther removed from their country by 5 or 6 hundred miles than what Liberia is. Both the go vernments and the merchants of the above named places take pains, to foster, encourage and protect such inter-communications, not acting as we do, alike indifferent, insensible and ignorant of the only sources from which we can derive prosperity and wealth.

The means of which we are capable, is adequate to the enterprise because of our natural assimilation to the tribes: and the distance being so much shorter.

I must call your Execllency's special attention to one matter, and that is the

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